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Shutter, Marion Daniel

The menace of socialism

Minneapolis, Minn.

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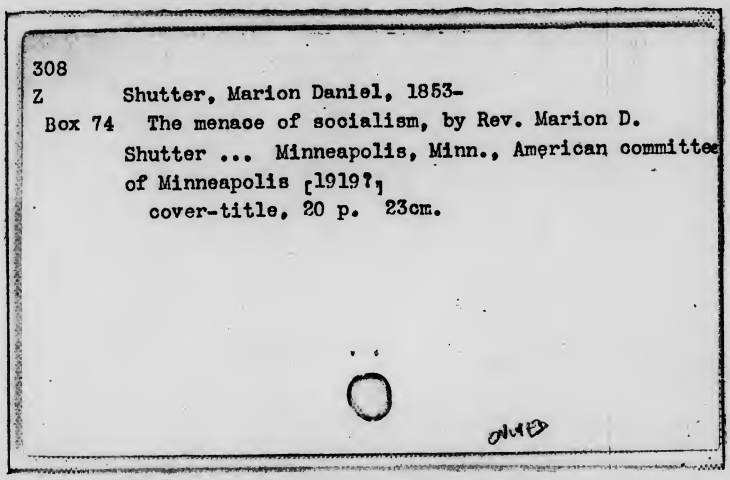

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The Menace of Socialism

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The Menace of Socialism

Rev. Marion D. Shutter, D. D., Church of the Redeemer, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

To come directly to my subject: What is Socialism? There are many answers. Proudhon told the French magistrate, "It is every aspiration for the amelioration of society." "In that case," replied the magistrate, "we are all Socialists." Another says, "Its aim is to realize the brotherhood of man in all the relations of life." Again the answer of the French magistrate would be in place. All such definitions, however, are vague as vapor. How are the aspirations to be embodied? How is the brotherhood to be realized? Schoonmaker gets a little nearer when he says: "Mass action as opposed to individual effort." But then there are many forms of mass action which stop far short of Socialism. There is also to be noted among the churches and clergy the growth of what is known as Christian Socialism. Some pious publications call Jesus the first Socialist; whereat Mr. John Macy waxes just as indignant as his debonair style and manner will permit and says: "Nothing could be sillier, more inept, then what is called Christian Socialism . . . . . There is no relation between Jesus and Socialism; he never heard of it." In this instance, Mr. Macy is right.

How many of us have formed any clear-cut idea as to what Socialism really is, and what it proposes to do? It may be that we want Socialism, that we want the changes it will bring about. Very good; but let us at least try to understand it. Then if we want it, let us say so intelligently; if we find that we do not want it, let us say so intelligently and decisively. Otherwise we shall be like the old woman in the story, who "dreamed that she was awake, and woke up to find herself asleep."

I.

THE REAL DEFINITION.

Setting aside the philosophical and sentimental phases of Socialism, we may define the real and practical thing as follows:

A movement (1) for the overthrow of the present political, social, and industrial order, (2) for the purpose of replacing it by what is called the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which land and all the means of producing and distributing wealth, shall be owned and administered by manual labor; and (3) in order to accomplish this overthrow, the first object of Socialism is to capture the existing machinery of government.

This is Socialism. These three elements enter into it. This is Socialism as the party platforms

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describe it. For Socialism today is more than an economic theory or a pious idea; it is a political party and must be dealt with as a political party.

1. Capture of the Government.

Let us consider these elements somewhat in detail. Reversing the order, let us start with their proposition to capture the existing machinery of government.

The National Platform of 1912, upon which Mr. Debs ran for the presidency says: "Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers **to seize the whole powers of government,** in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance." What these measures of relief are, we shall presently see. What concerns us just now is the avowed intention of seizing the whole powers of government to introduce a new social and industrial order. This is confirmed by the National Platform of 1916, which declares that it is the aim of the Socialist party **to reorganize the life of the nation upon the basis of Socialism.** This is further confirmed by the Congressional Platform of 1918, in which, under the pretext of preserving the peace of the world, the workers of the world are urged to "seek continuously and aggressively **to secure control of their respective governments."**

2. The Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Co-operative Commonwealth has never yet been clearly defined. Some features of it, however, appear through the tangled discussions, and of these I shall speak farther on. Just now I am calling your attention to some general statements.

The Socialist platform of Minnesota, for the year 1912, declares that the political organization and movement of Socialism **"aims to establish the collective and public ownership of the means of production, transportation, and distribution,** the democratic operation and management of such public enterprises and the remuneration of the workers by the full social value of the product of their labor." The State platform of 1916 after setting forth an immediate legislative program, concludes under the title, **Ultimate Aim of Socialism:**

> "The before-mentioned measures are presented by the Socialist party for the immediate relief of the workers but its main efforts are directed to the **complete overthrow of the present capitalist order and the establishment of an industrial system based upon the collective ownership and democratic management and control of the sources and machinery of wealth production."**

There is one more quotation that I wish to add. It is from the platform of the local party of Minneapolis, for the year 1912:

> "We lay upon every man elected to any office the first duty of striving to secure for the working class whatever is for their most immediate interests, and whatever will increase their economic and political power and lessen that of the exploiting class. But in so doing, we repeat that it must be distinctly understood that we advocate these remedial measures only as a means to **advance the one great end of the Co-operative Commonwealth."**

The point I want you to see here is this: that the Socialistic Commonwealth which is described in these quotations is not what we understand by government or municipal ownership by the whole people. It is more like the Russian Soviet,—a scheme in which everything will be owned by those who work with their hands and by those who dictate to them!

3. Overthrow of the Existing Order.

Coming back now to the first element in our definition, the "Overthrow of the present political, social, and industrial order," I want you to note the difference between the Socialist, and all other political parties.

Democrats and Republicans, for example, strive for control of the government, not that they may overturn it, or use it for purposes that its founders never intended; but to administer it in accordance with their own ideas. Their differences are largely differences of policy. The Socialist is the only party which asks to be put in control of the machinery of government in order to **wreck it.** I say this advisedly; for the Co-operative Commonwealth is something entirely different from the Representative Republic. It is something entirely different from even a pure democracy. They declare: "Under Socialism we workers will not be subjects of any state or union, but we will be citizens, free citizens, in the industries in which we are employed . . . . . More than that, under Socialism, we will have no Congresses such as exist today, nor legislatures, nor parliaments, nor councils of municipalities." "True Socialism," says Mr. Macy in his **Socialism in America,** "is anti-governmental, anti-patriotic, anti-nationalist, and anti-militarist. At bottom, these 'antis' are one and the same thing, they can not be separated from each other or from essential Socialism. The most eminent Socialists of the last Century were avowed enemies of the State."

These quotations show how the Socialist feels about the State—any state or country. He has no love for it, no patriotism. I introduce this right here because it comes in place, but I shall enlarge upon it later. To him the International Brotherhood with its red flag, means more than America, with its stars and stripes. Above this banner he puts the red flag. His supreme allegiance is to the Socialists of the world. The ultimate aim for which he works and votes is to destroy the republic which has given him the rights of a man and a field for their exercise; and to build upon its ruins an undefined something of Socialists, for Socialists, and by Socialists. I say this not to place political Socialism in a false light; I say it because they say it, because **they** proclaim it in their platforms and glory in the proclamation. When a railroad magnate secures control of a certain line of road and then wrecks it for his own profit, the Socialist fills the air with fumes of brimstone. When the Socialist gains possession of the machinery of government that he may wreck or change it for the benefit of himself and his class or party, he reaches the summit of political and industrial virtue!

II.

INDICTMENT OF THE PRESENT ORDER.

Let us now inquire the reasons given by Socialists for trying to overturn the present form of government and the present order of society. Here I quote from the platform of 1916, of the Socialist party in Minnesota:

> "By various methods the capitalists . . . forced down the standard of living, causing an ever increase of poverty, and its consequent misery, divorce, drunkenness, vice, murder, suicide, and white slavery. (War is also included) . . . . . The greed for profits and dividends and consequent oppression of the useful class of society is fast reducing them to a condition of hopeless wage slavery never equalled since the day of the fall of the Roman Empire . . . . . The remedy lies in the social ownership and control for use and not for profit of all the social means of production and distribution, thereby giving everybody an equal opportunity to live and enjoy the full product of their own labor."

1. I challenge, first, the assumption in the paragraph distinctly stated elsewhere, that the manual toilers are the only "useful class in society," and **"that their labor creates all values."** "We hold," says the Minneapolis Platform (1912) "that labor applied to natural resources, produces all wealth."

(1). The manual workers are indispensable, but they are not "the only useful class in society." Potent as is their labor, it is not the sole factor. It does not alone create values. The most important factor in the creation of wealth is brain work. Every railroad or business block or canal or store first existed in the mind of some one who could do some thinking and planning, and after he had wrought out his idea, it was comparatively easy for toiling hands to put it into material shape. Those hands were necessary, but they had to wait the initiative of intellect. Not only in the creation, but in the after management of industries, the brain plays the most important part. To organize and conduct a business employing hundreds and thousands of workmen, requires an intellectual power superior to that which is needed to take an assigned place and perform an allotted task. This fact is so obvious that it would be superfluous to state it, were it not for the claim so persistently urged that physical labor produces everything and is entitled to the total product.

(2). The fact is that every industry on the face of the globe today is due to brains. Every task that calls for labor and supports it, is due to the fact that some one saw and improved opportunity. The same opportunities were open; any one might have seen them and seized them. It was as open to Mr. Debs as to the Swifts to invent the refrigerator car; to Mr. Hilquit as to the Pullmans to invent the sleeper; to any Socialist of his time, as to Morse, to send the lightning along the wires; and to any one equally with Watt to see the power and application of steam. Why did not some one anticipate Edison? Why have not others taken advantage of these things in industry? Nature with all her secrets and materials is open alike to all; the difference is in men. Those who can see and administer win the prizes in life. The Socialist tells us that he wants everything administered for service and not for profit and that the capitalist ignores the public and seeks only his personal gain. No legitimate business can exist today that does not serve the public. The profit a man or an enterprise may make, may be too large; but it represents, what the public allows him for "value received." When the public desires, it may modify the compensation.

(3). One more word as to the creation of values by labor alone. Marx held that, as the common element in all commodities is labor that must be the measure of value. The long and the short of it is that anything you make is worth just what some one else is willing to pay for it. The fact that you have put so many hours upon it, or taken so much pains with it, is not decisive. Sometimes the real

value lies in the thing itself. The value to a man who wants a diamond, is in the diamond itself, and not in the time or labor required to cut and set it. The use of machinery, too, increases the number of articles made, but shortens the time and reduces the labor that goes to each. But if these articles serve no purpose and are not wanted, they are worth nothing. The manufacturer loses what he invested in machinery. He loses more than the laborer, for the laborer receives his wages. The world is not going to buy what it does not want,—if the manufacturer goes bankrupt or the workman loses a job. It is a question that can not be settled by any economic formula. The theories of Marx and of every one else are knocked to pieces by the facts of the market-place!

2. I challenge the next count in the indictment that the laboring people of this country are **being reduced to a condition of hopeless wage slavery.**

(1). On the fourth day of September, 1916, in the city of Washington, Mr. Samuel Gompers, who is not a Socialist,—who is strongly opposed to Socialism—but who claims to know something about labor, issued a statement in which he characterized the year then ending as one of the most remarkable in the entire history of the labor movement, for its achievements in shorter hours, higher wages, and general labor legislation. The war has sent wages up to the highest point in all history. While speaking of Mr. Gompers, it may be worth while to quote just what he does say about Socialism:

> "I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your standard works upon economics, have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over; I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for 30 years; have been closely associated with many of you and know how you think and what you propose; I know, too, what you have up your sleeve, and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your doctrines; not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically you are unsound, socially you are wrong, industrially you are impossible."

(2) Again invention and organization have been constantly diminishing the profits of capital and increasing the wages of labor. For example, in 1867, steel rails sold for $166 per ton and the labor involved was paid about $400 a year. In 1915, steel rails sold for $28 per ton and labor received $800 per year. Moreover the laborer worked fewer hours than in 1867. These changes were wrought by invention and organization. The same forces are still at work in the same direction. The

War has given a tremendous impulse to wages, and there is no prospect of reduction in sight.

(3) Still further. Legislation has been busy on behalf of the worker. Thousands of labor laws have been enacted in the last five or ten years, which have almost reached the dignity of a legal revolution in our jurisprudence relative to this subject. In one year alone over 400 labor laws were passed by the various states. From the old theory of self-reliance and personal responsibility we have travelled a long way toward the doctrine that the workers are the peculiar wards of the state. The statute books show that in his holy passion for a good cause, the zealot has too often lost sight of the primary principle of fair play toward the employer; but legislation discloses no instance—so far as I recall— where any unfair law has been passed against labor and in the interests of capital within the past ten years.

(4) The fact is that it is the employer today who comes nearer being a slave than the wage earner. He is so bound and hampered by laws in the interests of the "New Freedom," that often he knows not which way to turn. He is responsible for the results, but he has little or nothing to say about the process. If, in spite of everything, he manages to make a few dollars during the year, he is classed with the "criminal rich," and denounced as an "exploiter of labor." About the only function left the employer is finding the money and paying the bills. And when four brotherhood chiefs can dictate to the President and Congress of the United States the course they must take, under threat of paralyzing the transportation systems and industries of the nation, we must conclude that labor is not slave, but well nigh master.

(5) On the other hand, not only are the grounds of the Socialist indictment false; but there has been going on for years a movement of which no Socialist ever utters a word,—a movement, inaugurated by employers themselves, on behalf of better wages, conditions, treatment of labor, and even for the participation of the workers in the management of business. This had been going on before the War, and will not be retarded by its close. Read a book by Miss Ida M. Tarbell, entitled **"New Ideals in Business,"** and see how hundreds and thousands of enterprises have built new workshops, equipped them with safety devices, and let in the sun and air that health might prevail; how they have provided homes for their workmen; established benefits and pensions; introduced education for those who had been denied it; and are now giving labor representation in the management. And the only comment the Socialists makes is, "These things are only a sop; they are meant to keep you in slavery;

you will never be free till you take everything." He denounces injustice and inhumanity; but when he sees justice and right, he denounces it in even stronger terms! He is satisfied with nothing. No matter what the employer does, in the eyes of the Socialist, he is wrong. It reminds us of the old rhyme, about fore-ordination and free-will:

"You can and you can't,
You shall and you shan't,
You will and you won't;
You'll be damned if you do,
You'll be damned if you don't."

3. I challenge the third Socialist accusation that divorce, drunkenness, vice, murder, suicide, white slavery, and war are the result of the capitalist system. **It is not guilty of all the sins of society.**

Is it not possible that other elements and forces enter into the account? Are there not passions and appetites and impulses in the human being himself to explain much of the problem? Wars have not always been fought for reasons which were at bottom economic. They have often been fought for sheer love of fighting, for devotion to a leader or an idea, for race prejudice, religious fanaticism, or revenge. So in regard to other evils which afflict society. Passion, ignorance, mental or moral deficiency, love of power, and many other things independent of capitalism, independent of any industrial or political system, work havoc among men. The charges of Socialism are unfair and unjust. Vice and crime exist among those who have much as well as among those who have little. Is it not true that envy plays an important part in this indictment of society? It is hard for the loser to look with complacency upon the man who wins. He may lose by his own fault, but that does not change his attitude. I clipped this item from a Labor paper in Minneapolis:

> "Not long since a Socialist orator, addressing a little group of his compatriots at a small station in North Dakota, said: 'Look at these rich farms! See their fine barns and houses! See the rich farmers in their automobiles. Who made them rich? We laborers did! What made them rich? Getting more than their share in the deal! Here we work for four dollars a day when ten would not be enough. Twenty-five dollars a day for us would not be our full share!' "

This illustrates the attitude. There are some causes of vice and poverty and misery that go down so deep that no external arrangement can cure them. To say that Socialism or any other system can do it, is to exhort the farmer to build a new fence

around his fields in order to improve the quality of his soil and secure better harvests.

4. But if Capitalism is responsible for the sins and miseries of civilization, it must be credited also with **the triumphs and glories of civilization;** for the Socialist himself will tell us, it has had things its own way.

If it is responsible for the tares, it is responsible also for the wheat. It has aided the upward climb of the race. It has built the institutions of education, humanity, and religion. It has promoted the progress of industry and art. It has wrought marvels of engineering skill. It has been the source of all that is best in national thought and international sympathy. If the Socialist insists upon seeing nothing but the crimes and sins, here is a suggestion of the other side of the picture!

III.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM

The Socialist in order to reach what he calls his Co-operative Commonwealth, lays out a course of political action. His plan is, first of all, to bring the various means of production and transportation under municipal, state, and national control, secure the reins of government and then go on to complete his work in some unknown and undiscovered region.

1. The first step is to change the government itself **from a Representative Republic into a Socialistic Democracy.**

The National Platform of 1916 calls for the abolition of the United States Senate and the veto power of the President, and for the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, nationally as well as locally. In other words, all power of legislation is to be vested directly in the mass of the people. The only semblance of representative government remaining would be the House of Representatives, whose members would be subject to recall. Even the President himself would be subject to recall. More than this, this platform demands "abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress." The majority of voters would thus be enabled to pass upon the constitutionality of the laws which they themselves had enacted. In this connection, they also demand a convention for revising the Constitution of the United States. Still further, the platform demands the "abolition of the Federal Courts, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and the election of all judges for short terms." These demands are repeated in the Congressional Platform of the Socialist party for 1918. This virtually establishes popular government upon the bench as

well as in the halls of legislation. The people become both law-makers and judges. Every check provided by our fathers upon hasty and ill-considered legislation—legislation that is often but an outburst of ignorance, passion or prejudice,—is removed. The deliberations of the Senate, the veto of the President, the decisions of the Court, are swept away. Every guarantee of stability is stricken down. The government becomes like a ship whose captain has been put in irons, whose pilot has been thrown overboard, and whose fate has been left to a mutinous crew. This is the Socialistic democracy as the half-way house to the Co-operative Commonwealth.

2. In order to clear the pathway to these revolutionary changes, of every conceivable obstacle, **the Socialist platforms stand opposed to everything in the way of military or naval forces.**

Following is the latest amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Party:

> "Article II, Section 7,—Any member of the Socialist party, elected to an office, who shall in any way vote to appropriate moneys for military or naval purposes, or war, shall be expelled from the party."

This is why the Political Socialist is not and can not be patriotic; why he will not sustain his country in war; why he objects to everything military.

We have heard much about Socialism as a force for peace. Why? Not because the Socialist is opposed to bloodshed and destruction. He believes in both, when they can be made of advantage to himself. Victor Berger, with 100,000 votes behind him, advises every workingman to keep a rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition to back up his ballots. The Bolshevik Socialists in Russia have been rioting in an orgie of massacre, compared with which the French Revolution was but a single blood-spot on the page of history. Will they do less here than they have done in Russia, if they and their sympathizers—and Mr. Berger says that all Socialists are pro-Bolshevik today—ever become sufficiently strong to start their revolution?

What do the vast gatherings in New York and Chicago, where the red flag is lifted, mean? What meant the defiance of Sheriff Langum and of Governor Burnquist, in our own city, a short time ago? What do our Minneapolis aldermen mean who bar the way to an ordinance forbidding the red flag of murder and anarchy to be displayed in our streets? Why was it that, in our recent legislature, Socialist representatives voted against a law to prohibit the display of the red flag in public? The Socialist is opposed to military training and to a standing army,

not because he is supremely a lover of peace, but because he knows that when he starts his revolution for the overthrow of the present order, and the present civilization, the soldier will stand in his way! While preparing for his sweeping changes, the Socialist is preparing his program to eliminate effective opposition.

3. Having thus cleared the way, the next step in the Socialist program, according to the National Platform is the **"collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and all other social means of transportation and of all large-scale industries."**

"Collective ownership," and "democratic management," are two terms which Socialists have not yet satisfactorily defined. We shall refer to them again. The rest we can understand better. "Immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states, or the federal government of all grain elevators, stockyards, storage ware-houses, and all other distributing agencies." Further, "extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil-wells, forests, and water-powers." "Collective ownership of land, where practicable." And once again, "Collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system." This is the present program; but it is not the end. Common ownership is to be more and more extended, until the Co-operative Commonwealth of the world shall be reached. This ideal is never lost or obscured. There is something beyond all the states and nations that exist today; beyond all forms of government that obtain among men. Government ownership and municipal ownership are but stages on the way to the goal. The Congressional Platform for 1918, to which I have already referred, significantly says: "Government ownership, without democratic management, may become a greater menace to the world than the system of private ownership and exploitation, which is passing away. **Without the control of industry,** a democratic government may be a menace to the liberty of the individual." Which confirms all that I have previously said. The Congressional Platform concludes: "Our program is designed to assist in the passing of this bankrupt system of capitalism, not as a substitute for it." That substitute is the Co-operative Commonwealth.

IV.
THE SOCIALIST METHOD.

That which most concerns us, is the immediate program which I have just outlined. Perhaps after we have had some experience with government ownership, we may refuse to advance further towards the Socialist millennium.

The question arises: How is the transfer of the immense systems of transportation and the mammoth industries of the country to be accomplished? There are two ways: (1) Confiscation and (2) Purchase. Both of these have their advocates among Socialists. One of them says: "Much will depend upon the attitude of the capitalists themselves. If they resist to the point of annoyance, they may expect severe measures." Well, they will resist!

1. The party, in its platform, **declares for peaceable acquisition by purchase.**

It may be that the principle of community ownership will be more widely applied than it is today; but there are certain considerations that should give us pause.

The first of these is the expense involved. The only definite provision made in the Socialist platform to meet it is found in the following planks:

> "The increase of the rates of the present income tax and corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation."

Whether this would be adequate without pushing taxation to the point of confiscation, you may judge. Whether it would be adequate even then, one may question. The experiments of our National Government are not reassuring. The whole subject of government ownership will soon be up, and then I shall have something to say about that. In the meantime, the experiments now going on will give us new light.

2. On the other hand, the party of confiscation and revolution has been gaining in Socialist ranks. There were always revolutionaries among them, but **they have multiplied and are now in control.**

Their national convention in 1912 pronounced against sabotage and force. This so exasperated the riotous elements that they set at work to capture the party and they have succeeded. They drove out the advocates of legitimate methods and when finally they passed their treasonable resolutions at St. Louis, the last vestiges of order and loyalty disappeared from their ranks.

Since then the Socialist party has gathered to itself all the elements of lawlessness, and disorder

in the land; the I. W. W., the pro-German propagandists, the radical trade unionists, the Syndicalists, the traitors, the seditionists, the dissatisfied and the Bolsheviki. They are ready to reduce this country to the condition of Russia and are trying to do it. The **Revolutionary Age** (Detroit, March, 1919) declares: "History has shown that another means to secure control of the state has been organized man-power—at times not very well organized either—but **might constitutes the only right under such circumstances."** This is modern Socialist doctrine as it is also expounded in Minneapolis.

There is a striking example of the Socialist state in Russia. I mention this because it has the sanction of the Socialist party, which demands that it be recognized by the United States. Two features I mention. The first concerns the distribution of property. A correspondent with the American forces in Northern Russia, under date of November 2, writes: "Russian peasants in this district are glad to be freed from Bolshevik rule. 'The Bolsheviki promised we would have land and peace and plenty,' one sturdy old man said, 'but we soon learned what was their theory. It was just this: Tonight I go over and steal your cow and tomorrow night you come back and cut my throat and steal it back.' The peasants here are now settling down to what they hope will be order and tranquility after a long reign of Bolshevik terror." The other feature I will mention in a moment.

The same elements essentially that brought about the ruin and degradation of Russia are at work in America. There is complete understanding between Industrial Workers here and the Bolsheviki there. The Socialist party indorses both as did the Socialist State Convention of Minnesota and that of New York in 1918, and when the time comes will work with them, and through them, for the overthrow of constitutional government in the United States, and the introduction of the rule of the "Soviets." It is true the conservative element has just rallied and "expelled" the radicals; but this does not change the situation, as it is a case of the tail expelling the dog.

V.

THE GOAL OF SOCIALISM.

However it may be brought about the purpose of Socialism is to establish what is called the Co-operative Commonwealth. What this state is to be, they have not clearly defined; but it is to supercede all existing nationalities and forms of government. It will probably consist of industrial groups, not widely differing from those communistic communities which the world has outgrown, or, as just

suggested, like the "Soviets" of Russia. We may gather, however, some features of what Socialists believe it will be.

1. Everything will be **owned and administered by manual labor** which will then be entirely Socialistic.

The property of all who own anything today will have been voted away or otherwise appropriated by those whose labor is supposed to have produced it. Brain work does not count. The Socialist talks about democracy; what does he mean by it? It is not a democracy composed of all the people, but of Socialist labor. Richard Mueller, a German Socialist, has just put this in the clearest terms:

> "We don't want a democratic republic. We want a Socialistic, nay, a proletarian republic. Enough has been said."

And every political Socialist in America, and every Socialistic platform in America, agrees with him and means exactly that. In a recent issue of the **Liberator,** Max Eastman says:

> "If you do not renounce your capitalistic privilege, we will relieve you of it. We intend to have a republic of workers, and we intend this so really and truly that nothing can stop us, not even 'justice' nor 'principles of democracy,' nor the 'rule of the majority,' nor any of those slogans of ancient morality."

2. Another feature of the Socialistic state will be **the absence of competition.**

But competition has been an important factor in human progress, and we can not see that its usefulness is yet ended.

It has led to numberless inventions and improvements, and thus it has played a very large part in material progress. Nor is competition necessarily brutal. To say that one can not be just and honest and live by the teachings of Christianity, except under Socialism,—to say that one can not treat his fellow-men as brethren till all are placed upon a machine-made level,—is simply to contradict thousands of instances in which employers, without state compulsion, have recognized and acted upon the identity of their own and their employees' interests. Then, too, we must remember that in rewarding men for their achievements, competition furnishes an incentive which human nature has always needed, and now needs. It keeps us alive and active. It stirs us up to the full measure of our ability! And some evils are due rather to lack of competition than to its presence.

3. Another feature of the Co-operative Commonwealth will be **the subordination of the individual to the mass.**

Socialism proceeds upon the assumption that it is possible to convert the entire community into a huge machine, and that every man and woman will take his or her place in that machine, just as the wheels and pistons and other parts of an engine do; and that each part will work in harmony with every other part without friction. The facts of human nature are all against it. If men were themselves machines, this might be done. But "men not only have physical force; they have something which controls that; they have feelings, likes and dislikes, appetites and desires, purposes and ambitions, all of which have to do with men's activities, and which have never yet submitted to absolute control." Even if all were willing to take their places in a vast machine, upon what principle will the new community determine the place of the individual and assign him his work? Who will be appointed to make the decision? Upon what principle will the reward for his work be assigned? What is to be the standard by which the community decides? If a man shall have less than he thinks he is entitled to have, what is there to prevent him from becoming dissatisfied? What is there to prevent him from whispering that dissatisfaction to others? What is there to prevent him from rising up against the new system as he does now against the present one? If there shall exist the possibility of discontent, that possibility may prove, as it does sometimes today, the germ of disaster; and some future Gibbon might chronicle the "decline and fall" of the Socialistic State.

4. To guard against discontent, another feature of the Co-operative Commonwealth will be its **ease and comfort.**

Prof. Hertzka of Vienna has calculated that the working day under Socialism could be reduced to two hours and twelve minutes. Charles Vail, in his **Principles of Scientific Socialism,** gets it down to one hour, while William D. Haywood adds other features to the Socialistic regime. Of a mammoth plant to be conducted by the workers, he says:

> "There will be a wonderful dining-room where you will enjoy the best food that can be purchased; your digestion will be aided by sweet music, which will be wafted to your ears by an unexcelled orchestra. There will be a gymnasium and a great swimming-pool and private bath-rooms of marble. One floor of this plant will be devoted to masterpieces of art, and you will have a collection even superior to that displayed by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. A first-class library will occupy another floor. The roof will be converted into a garden. There beautiful flowers will fill your eyes and their sweet perfume your nostrils. The workrooms will be superior to any ever conceived. Your work-chairs will be Morris-chairs, so that when you become fatigued you may relax in comfort."

This description is so nearly like the old-fashioned descriptions of Heaven—with the redeemed dressed in long white robes and eternally playing upon harps—that we feel we should all rather go where there was something really interesting to do. And yet there was more vigor and energy in the old-fashioned heaven than in Mr. Haywood's Socialistic paradise. In the latter, the music was furnished; in the former, every one had at least to exert himself enough to play upon his own harp!

5. From the earliest days of the Socialist theories, the accepted views of **marriage and of the family** have been repudiated in favor of "free unions founded upon elective affinity." Bebel says:

> "Marriage, standing as it does in the most intimate connection to property and the right of inheritance, demands 'legitimate' children as heirs. It is entered into for the purpose of obtaining them, and the pressure exercised by society has enabled the ruling classes to enforce it in the case of those who have nothing to bequeath. But as in the new community there will be nothing to bequeath . . . . . compulsory marriage becomes unnecessary from this standpoint as well as from all others."

These theories have recently been enacted into law by certain of the Bolshevik governments of Russia. I know how strenously the "socialization of women" is denied by their sympathizers in America. But the facts remain, upon indisputable testimony, such as that of Ambassador Francis and Mr. Roger E. Simmons, confirmed by many others, and by the Report of the Senate Investigating Committee. One of the first dispatches came from Petrograd, by way of London, to the effect that, "The town council of Petrograd has decided that all unmarried women between the age of 18 and 45 shall be provided with husbands selected by the Council. The children of these unions, it is added will not be allowed to remain with their parents, but will be educated under the control of the soviet government." Bureaus of Free Love have also been established at Vladimir, Luga, Kolpin, Kranstadt, and other places. Recently, (advices from London, April 22, say,) the **Krasnaya Gazetta,** a Red Journal of Petrograd, published an account of some of the results. A few days after the Soviet's

decree, which women very generally ignored, two men known to nobody arrived in the town and seized the two daughters of a "well-known non-bourgeois comrade," declaring that they had chosen them as wives and that the girls, without further ceremony, must submit, as they had not observed the registration rule. Comrades Rablonovsky and Guriakin, who sat as judges on the claim, decided the men were right and the girls were carried off. They have not since been heard of by the village folk. Many other instances of the fantastic operation of the law, not to speak of its inhumanities, are cited by the Gazetta. In a dispatch from General Poole to the British War Department, (January 11, 1919,) now published in the **White Book of Bolshevism,** he says: "There is evidence to show that commissariats of free love have been established in several towns, and respectable women flogged for refusing to yield. Decree for nationalization of women has been put into force, and several experiments made to nationalize children." Of course, human nature will eventually take care of these laws,—they can not permanently succeed; but the infamy of it all is that the attempt has been made, and made in pursuance of Socialist theory. The same thing has been tried under the Red Regime in Budapest, and at last any man might declare himself married to any woman he pleased, and then to another, and so on; and each new announcement was considered divorce enough for the previous woman. Even this has not succeeded. Something like this general conception of marriage is likely to be attempted in any Socialist state.

6. There is one thing more. John Spargo, in his book on **Marxian Socialism and Religion,** says: "It must be admitted that, in spite of the formal declarations of neutrality toward religion by Socialist parties, attacks on religion and the churches are common features of the Socialist propaganda."

The late Prof. Rauschenbusch, himself a "Christian Socialist,"—so-called—says that when a man who reveres religion goes into a Socialist meeting, he will find "an almost universal attitude of suspicion and dislike against the Church, which often rises to downright hate and bitterness, and expands to general antagonism against religion itself. The materialistic philosophy of history as the average Socialist expounds it, emphasizes the economic and material factors of life so exclusively that the spiritual elements of humanity seem as unimportant as the coloring of a flower or the bloom on the grape. In large parts of the party literature, the social and economic teachings of Socialism are woven through a web of materialistic philosophy, which is part of 'scientific Socialism.' The party platform declares religion to be a private affair, but that declaration

of neutrality does not exclude persistent attacks on religion by official exponents of the party." He adds: "Socialist leaders in America have committed an enormous tactical mistake in allowing Socialism to be put in antagonism to Christianity."

The most recent instance of the Socialist attitude towards religion is the action taken last February, (1919) by the Socialist State Convention of Michigan, in the city of Grand Rapids, and published in the **Proletarian** (Detroit) for the month of March:

> "Resolved, That the following be inserted as Section 14, Article 15, of the State Constitution:
>
> "It shall be the duty of all agitators and organizers, upon all occasions, to avail themselves of the opportunity of explaining religion, on the basis of the materialistic conception of history, as a social phenomenon."

The editor adds: "This disposes, in this State at least, and for all time, we hope, of that moss-grown shibboleth, 'Religion is a private matter.'" "This," as one of the delegates exclaimed, "gives us the right to knock God now, as much as we please!"

VI.

CONCLUSION.

There are several factors that are most important in the progress of the race: (1) the institution of the Family, (2) the establishment of Private Property, (3) the rise of Capital,—when some one had come to a point where he had sense enough to save something from today to invest tomorrow, and (4) Religion. These have all had their abuses and have today, but they have made civilization. Each of these, organized Socialism seeks to overthrow. Your Socialist state, your Co-operative Commonwealth,—"if shape that might be called, which shape has none,"—will be some sort of communistic or "soviet" community, without anything one may call his own,—without families, without God, and without hope! This is the logical outcome.

The last century was one of vast improvements in social and industrial conditions; the present one will witness greater strides. Evils there are and will be; but we have already remedied many in the past, and by the end of another century many of those existing today will have been swept away! Progress in the future, as in the past, will always be attended with perils; but the gain in the end to all classes will outweigh the perils to some. We shall try experiments; some of them will undoubtedly be in the direction of attempts by the community to do certain things that now depend upon private

enterprise. Each community will decide by its own experience; each state will do the same. Some things may work in one place and not in another. The world advances by gradual steps,—by experiment and experience. The introduction of a new system complete and on a vast scale,—whether Socialism or anything else,—would arrest the wheels of progress and turn back the shadow on the dial!

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